NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Senator Joe and the Gallimaufry Kid

Reopening his broomstick circus in Washington last Monday, Wisconsin's junior Senator landed well on the inside pages of most newspapers. It was a quiet day: only one "witness" got thrown out by the cops. Sledding was tough for Joe after Scripps-Howard inquisitor Frederick Woltman turned against him. It was tougher for Joe's boy Roy M. Cohn (l.) whose "fantastic and riotous gallimaufry" with Pvt. G. David Schine was limned for Senators by Vermont's Ralph E. Flanders in a blistering speech picturing "the Senator as fuehrer." Flanders cornered the front pages; Joe sought a new self-promotion angle: Roy gave one groan and resigned.

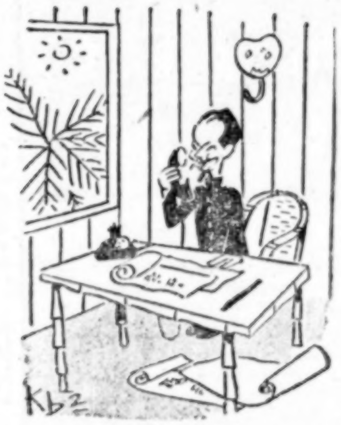
WAR & PEACE

Indo-China guns are silenced; new hope dawns for world peace

By Tabitha Petran

"PRESSURE for peace at almost any price seems irresistible," wrote U.S. News (7/23), as the Geneva conference neared agreement on ending the Indo-China war. A year to the week after the Korea cease-fire this world-wide pressure silenced the guns in Indo-China. History seemed likely to record the Korean armistice as the greatest defeat of U.S. arms, the Indo-China truce as the greatest diplomatic setback to date for Washington's war policy. For the truce:

- Marks the failure of Washington's four-year effort to start a world war in Asia. (In March, 1950, the late Agnes Smedley warned that "a dreadful war plot is being hatched" which, unless exposed and protested, would "reach its fulfillment in a new world war starting in the Far East.")
- Pushes Washington's plan to overthrow the Peking regime, already set back once in Korea, a long way further back. Its chief base in Asia now becomes Thailand, which U.S. Ambassador "Wild Bill" Donovan—sent there "to organize our intelligence network"—terms "the most corrupt [government] in S.E. Asia" (Drew Pearson, 7/19).
- Ends a period of U.S.-French relations which began with the 1946 U.S. loan, one of whose aims was to enable France to fight the Indo-China independence movement. The end of this war nearly eight years later marks France's first step toward regaining the independence it lost by accepting the strangling conditions of the loan, the Marshall Plan and other instruments of Washington's war-preparation policy.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Hello, Premier Mendes-France? This is Ho Chi Vietminh. . . ."

THE RUSH TO PARIS: Washington's final agreement not to disrupt, for the time being at least, the conclusion of a truce was given reluctantly and primarily because the alternative was virtual break-up of the Western alli-

(Continued on Page 3)

UNMOVED BY KLAN-TYPE AND 'LEGAL' THREATS, SAUK CITY EDITOR INSISTS:

Joe must positively go!

By Lawrence Emery

LAST March 18 Leroy Gore, life-long Republican and editor of the Wisconsin small-town weekly, Sauk-Prairie **Star**, took a bold step which he himself conceded might be folly. He wrote in an editorial:

> "There isn't much point in prolonging the suspense or the agony. To be brutally frank, four long years are too many years to wait for an opportunity to shake off the soiled and suffocating cloak of McCarthyism. The **Star** proposes a recall election in which the sole issue shall be the fitness of Joseph McCarthy to serve his nation, his party and the sovereign State of Wisconsin."

Gore and his associates have been the targets of two kinds of persecution ever since: the "legal" type and the Ku Klux Klan variety of "run 'em out of town." But U.S. newspapers have exercised their free-press right to print little or nothing of Wisconsin's unique recall movement and the consequences for those who led it.

THE TITANIC TASK: Gore and his associates set themselves an almost impossible task: Wisconsin statutes require that recall petitions contain signatures equal to 25% of the total gubernatorial vote in the most recent elections. Since 1952 saw a record turnout of the Wisconsin electorate, more than 403,000 names had to be signed on the dotted line—and collected within 60 days. Starting without organization, funds or experience, and without the solid backing of any of the state's political, labor or farm groups—and working in an atmosphere of intimidation—the Joe Must Go Club gathered the amazing total of some 390,000 names. Of these, 335,000 were "valid" in the sense that they were collected within the 60-day period.

At the height of the campaign more than 4,500 petition circulators were ringing doorbells and talking to their neighbors all over the state. As Joe Must Go Club chairman Harold Michael put it:

> "The showing we have made, despite the lack of money, lack of organization, and amateur leadership indicates that there is a lot of anti-McCarthy sentiment in the state. If we could force an election, I'm sure McCarthy would be defeated."

"BUSINESSMEN WITH CLUBS": The Joe Must Go movement frightened the Senator himself. Most of the signature drive occurred during the Army-McCarthy hearings, but he spent most week-ends in the state, although he had rarely before then bothered to go home. Said the Madison **Capital Times:**

> "He has been taking valuable week-end time, which could be used to prepare his case for the row with the Army, to come home and make speeches and visit the people he has

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SOMEBODY LOVES JOHN

"Miss Greece" (above) thinks John Foster Dulles is a doll because he interceded to get her into the U.S. for the "Miss Universe" stakes; she had been barred as a "security risk" because "she once designed the cover for a Communist author's book." "Miss S. Korea" (r.) can't get a passport: since she didn't leave N. Korea till she was 18, she's suspected of peeking at the facts of life and not concentrating enough on her bust development.

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Vol. 6, No. 40 178 JULY 26, 1954

"You will rise again even as the grass of the field; though all men's hands be set against you, though you feel isolated and abandoned, you, the rank and file, will surely rise to spread the green mantle of democracy over this ravished American soil."—OSCAR AMERINGER (speaking to Illinois miners, 1930).

REPORT TO READERS

. . . but especially to YOU

IT MAY HAVE ESCAPED YOUR ATTENTION, but we hope you are as gratified as we are that the GUARDIAN has not had to make a financial appeal other than for our Buck-of-the-Month Sustainers in well over a year.

This is because our Sustainers have been coming through nobly, on time and in increasing numbers since a year ago in March; and friends of the GUARDIAN everywhere, including our advertisers and Buying Service Shoppers, seem to have made the paper one of the family.

OUR PROBLEM, friends, is with renewals—and if you're fed up reading about them in this space, think how worn-down we must feel having to write about them so eternally.

As this is written, every subscriber due for renewal through June has this past week received a renewal letter from us. Some of you receiving this letter have owed us a renewal for longer than we like to admit. We have kept the paper coming, of course, but in consequence here we are at the end of July with a staggering column of quarterly payments unpaid and still whacking the bushes for overdue renewals.

IF WE BEGGED in desperation for a $5 bill all hands around to save the GUARDIAN from going over the cliff, renewed and unrenewed alike would rally around as in the past, saying: "Why didn't you tell us things were so rough?"

Friends, things are always rough, but not so rough that prompt renewals and a flow of new readership can't always keep the ship afloat, with all the other sustaining effort GUARDIAN readers are famous for.

SO YOU REMAINING Red Address-Label people, you have our letter now, with a postage-paid hurry-up reply envelope. We need those renewals quite desperately by the end of the month—which means THIS WEEK. Let's get cracking!

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Hope is hopeful

HOPE, B. C.

We are trailer dwellers and have to move to where the work is—and jobs are rather scarce these days, though they should not be as this North American continent has so many undeveloped resources that there should be work for everyone.

We hope things will be different soon. The world's progressives and other decent people can certainly see what is going on, and things seem to be looking a little brighter for our side, that is the side of all kind and good folks of this earth.

S. E. Bean

U. S.: kibbutz-eye view

KIBBUTZ HEPZIBAH, ISRAEL

In 1950 when I left the States things were pretty O.K. but now with McCarthy I wonder if you are allowed to have red blood, red is Russian. I am 13 years old and my mother gets the GUARDIAN ever since I can remember.

Michael Jacis

Looking south

WISETON, SASK., CANADA

Conditions in the U.S. would seem to be deteriorating rapidly, with no person safe from political attack. Your paper is much needed.

Margaret M. Dickson

The word to the islands

GRENADA, B. W. I.

I have been receiving your magazine for the past few months, and must indeed say how much I apperciate it, real good, honest reading; pity such a paper could not be read by many owing to the subscription. However, I usually pass on my used copies to as many people as possible for them to expand their knowledge of current affairs in the world.

Dudley L. W. Greasley

Lebanese un-Americans

RAS-BEIRUT, LEBANON

Here and in Syria big demonstrations were held in the main cities against Dulles' military pacts. Most significant of all was the one organized by the Students' Union of Lebanon, which was to start at the American University of Beirut, center of American learning and culture. The government put a ban on it and ruthlessly crushed it, killing one student and injuring scores—some permanently. Repercussions throughout the Arab world were indignant, and echoed the people's intent to resist U.S. imperialism and military pacts.

Raja Howrani

That Gettysburg address

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Presidential asst. Sherman Adams stated recently anent Ike and the coming elections: "The loss of Congress might make a certain farm in Pennsylvania an attractive place to retire to."

Since Eisenhower is obviously no Lincoln, I, too, feel he should devote more time to his Gettysburg address.

Anne Gish Part

Wants new party views

SULLIVAN, MO.

I hope every reader will express his opinion of George Curry's letter regarding a new party. If enough such letters are mailed, not only to the GUARDIAN but to other papers as well, we might be able to stop American fruit companies from taking over any more Guatemalas.

L. K. England

How crazy can you get dept.

For two months now the UN has been trying . . . to hire 16 plumbers, upholsterers, carpenters, bricklayers, pipe coverers, and masons as staff employes. . . . These men are needed to make the day-to-day emergency repairs—fix leaking pipes, patch the paint, recoil the springs in the furniture, and the like. But while the pipes leak and the paint peels, the loyalty and security clearances required of all American citizens employed as staff members have not been forthcoming. "It's much harder to check a plumber or a carpenter," explains an American security officer, "than a college professor."

—Nation, July 24.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under the above heading.

Root of all evil

FALLBROOK, CALIF.

To and through the GUARDIAN, to the people, near and far, who now are being deceived by some deceiving, evil and sinful doers, who now also are deceiving themselves: First, a question to those selfish, rich, greedy interests who now are the root of all evil, all sin, here in this Planet Earth, House of the true God, the Heavenly Father. **Why should you bigots want to destroy Socialism or Communism** when you, by your own greedy, selfish, sinful works, are positively the very Father and Mother of both Socialism and Communism? You money-lovers and money-changers are more lovers of Satan than you are lovers of God, while you cause the common laboring class of this Family—the meeker of this Family, who are to inherit this Earth—to sin and suffer death because of you, the rich, and your servants the FBI, and those witch-hunt committees who cause some to lose their jobs, and their families to suffer.

And to you, the Priest, Preacher and Rabbi who now support Satan and the rich: **You are no better than those you support.** Will you read and know who and what all of you are? I Timothy 6, verses 7-19.

J. S.

The egg and us

GRAND JUNCTION, MICH.

You seem to have a hell of a time getting money, so do I. That is the reason I am behind with my sub. Times are tough for a lot of us here, people laid off of work with 10 years' seniority. I am a hick farmer. Thought we could switch to chickens but the feed costs more than we can get for the eggs. To us Ike's recession is worse than Herbie's depression.

George H. Smith

●

HADDAM, KANSAS

Do you realize Benson cut 10c per lb. off our cream, which would have paid our GUARDIAN pledge in one month?

Right now we are receiving 16c a dozen for eggs. To pay you $12 would take 75 dozen eggs. Hens at 6c a lb. would take 40 five-lb. hens. When I pay for groceries, health and car insurance, everyday clothes (can't afford others), there is little left for anything else. If I can I'll send you a few dollars. If not, well I can't help it.

I wish you the best, for your paper tells the truth in these days that try men's souls and women's too.

Ruby G. Heck

●

WASHINGTON, KANSAS

For a revealing bit of arithmetic you may calculate how many eggs at 16c per doz., or 5 lb. hens at 9c per lb. this $3 for my renewal represents. Agriculture Secy. Benson, who is supposed to represent the farmers but one of whose chief worries is the high prices paid by consumers, should be well pleased. If consumers are paying too much for their eggs and poultry—and they probably are—at least the Hon. Secy. cannot honestly say it's because the producers are getting a high supported price for their product.

Ernest B. Beirne

For the children

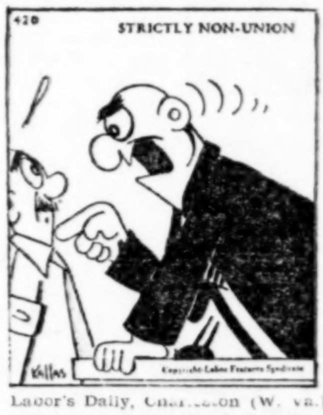
NEY YORK, N. Y.

On behalf of the families of the Smith Act victims, I would like to express our thanks to the many thousands of GUARDIAN readers who have contributed to our cause this year. Your contribution and your sentiments have meant much, much more to us than you can imagine, coming as they have from every corner of America.

I wish I could say that all our needs have been met for the present, but I cannot. There remains a need for a moderately small sum to complete the summer vacation requirements of the children involved. The sum is only $1,700. I know the generosity of GUARDIAN readers will again respond readily to help meet this remaining necessity for the summer.

Peggy Dennis

The GUARDIAN will be happy to forward to Mrs. Dennis any contributions sent to her at our office, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. Ed.



Labor's Daily, Charleston (W. Va.)

"Now look here, Hampton, I'm a busy man! I can't have you popping in and out of here every year asking for a raise!"

Oregon's vital year

PORTLAND, ORE.

As this perhaps will be the most vital year politically in the history of labor—especially in Oregon, where we have one extremely reactionary Senator and one grand liberal—we in Oregon in the ranks of labor are deeply concerned in the outcome of the next election. Three out of four of our representatives are reactionary and we have a fight on our hands. You might give us a lift some time in the future. I am 84 years old and am greatly interested in the battle that is now in progress.

W. P. Englefried

Heritage

NEW LONDON, CONN.

We are the poor who must abstain
From lamentations of distress;
We are the rank and file of pain
Whom Fate has rendered comfortless!

We are the slaves who toil and sweat
To please the rich who own our hire;
For we are always in their debt
To live and die as they desire!

We are the mute inferiors
Who risk our lives and risk our health;
We are the FOOLS who fight their wars . . .
To lade the wealthy with more wealth!

Patricia Burgess

"I shall pray for you"

TAMPA, FLA.

I have come to the conclusion that yours is a communist paper or in sympathy with them and their aims. While I regret that our nation has many faults, I believe these can only be corrected by the development of Christian Charity and not by insults, abuse and by efforts to communize our nation either by force or otherwise. So I shall continue to help to correct by prayer and example and not by insult and abuse. I shall also pray for you that God will inspire you with understanding.

Phillip Simcic, USAF retd.

We appreciate the prayers of brother Simcic, who encloses a "miraculous medal" of the Virgin Mary. We also welcome the prayers of Buddhists and others. As Canard Enchaine, Paris, (7/7) commented under a photo of a procession of surpliced Roman Catholic priests bearing a sign "Our Lady, pray for Russia and China" through the streets of Ville, Bas-Rhin, France:

"One hopes the Buddhists of the Far East will return the compliment by organizing a procession through their streets with signs to this effect: 'Buddha, contemplate your navel in favor of France.'" Ed.

Keep an eye on Wilson

BURBANK, CALIF.

I voted for Mrs. Isobel Cerney on the enthusiastic recommendation of my good friend Rube Borough. But I believe he was slightly in error in his statement: "Not one Republican or Democratic candidate for state or national office has dared to touch the roaring issues."

It would appear that he did not read the platform of Roderick J. Wilson, the only Democratic candidate for Governor who did not crossfile. Wilson, whom I highly respect for his personal integrity and liberal views (he is a humanitarian if I ever met one), was under a cloud by the venal GOPartisan press (which is about the only press we have out here) and was treated to the thunders-of-silence technique. Maybe that is why Rube overlooked him. Nonetheless, some 180,000 Californians (47,000 in L. A. County) thought enough of Wilson to vote for him. I'm betting that in due time Wilson will be heard from politically. Incidentally, he is the man our lying California newspapers called a "fugitive from justice" because he had the temerity to go to Washington and ask the Langer Comm. to investigate charges against one of California's GOP sacred cows—former Governor, now Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Guy W. Finney

Rank-&-file revolt on German rearmament is climactic test of British Labour machine

By Gordon Schaffer

Guardian special correspondent

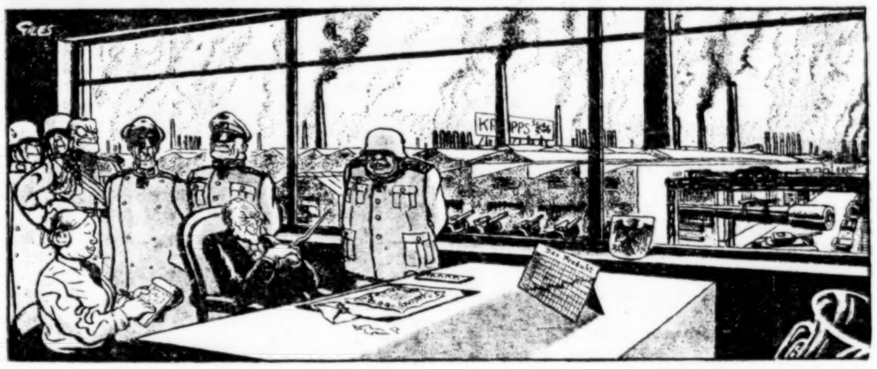
LONDON

RIGHT-WING leaders of the British labor movement are conducting an all-out drive to get a majority for rearming W. Germany at next September's Trade Union Congress and Labour Party conference. While they may yet achieve enough block votes for their policy, it is already clear that they are generals without an army, fighting their own rank and file.

The overwhelming fact is that most local Labour Party members have repudiated their national leaders. These are the Jimmy Higginses at election time without whom the party cannot survive. Tens of thousands of them are members of the very trade unions which keep the right-wing leaders in power. Hundreds of these local parties have sent resolutions to Labour headquarters against German rearmament.

BUSMEN "vs." TRAINMEN: We are asked to believe that British workers condemn this policy when organized in local Labour Parties but accept it as members of a few selected unions; that while metal workers organized in the Amalgamated Engineering Union unanimously condemn it, as do train drivers in the Natl. Union of Railywaymen, bus drivers in the Transport & General Workers support it. This just does not make sense. The interests of different sections of the workers may on occasion conflict, but it is inconceivable that it should be in the class interests of bus drivers to support German rearmament and of train drivers to oppose it.

The explanation is that the "pro" unions are those in which the membership gets no chance to speak its mind, and the "anti's" are unions in which there is genuine democracy. The "anti's" — the Engineering, Electrical Trades, Fire Brigades, Foundry Workers, Distributive Workers, Railwaymen, Shipbuilding Draftsmen — have varying degrees of democracy in their constitutions, but all have machinery through which members can elect delegates and voice their views.



Daily Express, London

"We are prepared to accept your German rearmament program on condition we sell you the arms that you rearm us with. . . ."

THE SUPER-MACHINES: The 250,000-member "pro" Transport Workers, which covers scores of different industries, operates on the surface through a complicated system of democratic government; but if you look deeper you find that Gen. Secy. Arthur Deakin and his paid officials (all right-wing) exercise the dominant power. In the Natl. Union of General & Municipal Workers —which with Transport has over 25% of total TUC membership—the rank and file have almost no chance of making their views heard. For decades these two unions have cast their huge card vote for every reactionary policy at the TUC and Labour Party conferences. Ten years ago General & Municipal's leaders backed the Vansittart policy of condemning the whole German people—because they feared the way people were making the war a war against fascism. Now these same leaders hail W. Germany's fascists as their allies.

The TUC's and Labour Party's right-wing leaders are kept in power by the card-vote majority centred around these two unions. The party executive in turn maintains its control of the Parliamentary Labour Party by weeding out left-wingers from acceptance as Labour candidates. And it is the Labour MP's who elect the party's leader.

THE KEY MINERS: So far these two unions have had the support of a number of smaller unions whose membership is well under control—the Steelworkers, for example, who do not even have an annual conference. They have also relied on some unions where, despite a democratic constitution, the members have automatically backed the leadership. Such a union is the 130,000-member Agricultural Workers, which never before opposed the right wing on a political or international issue but this year has decisively joined the opposition to German rearmament.

A key position is that of the 620,000-member Natl. Union of Mineworkers which has gone along with the two big reactionary unions on almost every controversial issue since the war. But on one occasion its rank and file voted overwhelmingly against the leaders when pressure forced a ballot vote on supporting the Labour government's wage freeze; at the next TUC the leaders gave way without a fight, knowing they were beaten without the miners' vote. Two years ago when the miners demanded E.-W. trade, the Labour leaders had to give way.

MORE MACHINES: On German rearmament, the NUM supported official Labour Party policy at their conference July 7. How is such a position possible from the miners who in pre-war years were in the forefront of progressive forces? Again the answer is in the way democracy operates in the union.

The NUM was formed just before the war by amalgamating a number of district unions, and the constitution leaves power in district groups to organize procedure for choosing their own exec. committees and delegates to the NUM conference, the TUC and Labour Party conference. The district organizations with democratic procedure (Scotland, S. Wales) send left-wing delegates; Derbyshire, Nottingham, Kent and other districts swing between Left and Right; in Durham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, which always back the right wing, you find on the spot that the right-wingers control a powerful machine which hardly gives the rank and file any chance to talk.

THE NAKED DIVORCE: But power in the NUM is very delicately balanced. At its recent conferences the votes of right-wing districts have secured a substantial majority, but the delegates to the TUC and to the Labour Party conference have been much more evenly divided. On some occasions the right wing has imposed its policy by a majority of only two or three in a total delegation of more than 90. These two votes swung the miners' total vote on to the side of the right wing.

The NUM conference also nominated right-wing Hugh Gaitskell for Labour Party treasurer over left-wing Aneurin Bevan, by 505,000 votes to 223,000. Gaitskell is hoping to win on the combination of right-wing unions; yet since Bevan can depend on 90% of the votes of local Labour Parties, this would only further expose the divorce between leaders and membership.

Out of 433 resolutions submitted for the party conference on all kinds of foreign and domestic issues, the largest single group concern German rearmament: 57 oppose it, only one favors the Attlee policy. The next largest group consists of 37 resolutions for outlawing the H-bomb and disarmament of the big powers. Generally, the resolutions attack the cardinal principles of Britain's coalition foreign policy.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

ance. Secy. Dulles rushed to Paris to confer with British Foreign secy. Eden and French Premier Mendes-France only when it became apparent that Britain and France would go ahead with truce efforts despite Washington's boycott of Geneva. His aim was to make as unacceptable as possible Western terms on the three key issues for peace in Indo-China: the political framework of a settlement; effective neutralization of the unliberated parts of Indo-China; the U.S. attitude toward the truce.

All Western sources agreed that Ho Chi Minh would win elections—held any time short of three to five years —hands down. French puppet troops were reported deserting to Ho at the rate of 500 a day. Mendes-France, at his meeting with China's Premier Chou En-lai a month ago, agreed to all-Vietnam elections as political framework for a truce; after his talks with Dulles he came out for indefinite postponement of elections. He thus lined up (perhaps for bargaining purposes) with the U.S. stand that the "military regroupment" is a permanent partition.

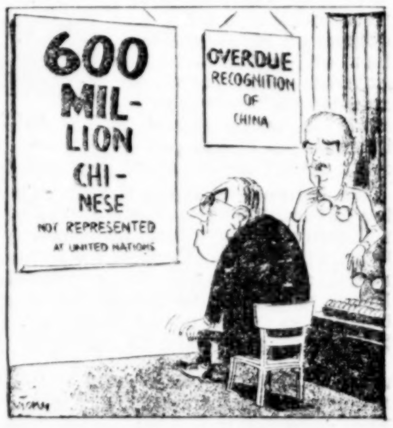
LET THERE BE TENSION: Partition in Indo-China, as in Korea, can become a source of tension. That Washington so intended it is clear from its stand on the other two key issues. Instead of effective neutralization, Washington wanted Indo-China's three non-communist states—Laos, Cambodia and the truncated Vietnam—to be guaranteed by its proposed S. E. Asia pact, even though they could not be members. At the same time, while Washington is eager to guarantee "against future Communist aggressions the territory left in free hands," it would not guarantee or recognize the other side's territory since that, Washington insisted, "must be open to a future change of status" (**Chr. Science Monitor**, 7/15).

The truce terms—not entirely clear at GUARDIAN press-time — showed some modification of this position. Although refusing to sign the truce, Washington promised not to upset it by threat or use of force. (**INS** said the U.S. wanted Anglo-French "assurances" on the European Defense Community "before pledging to respect" the Indo-China agreement.) Foreign military bases will not be permitted in non-liberated Indo-China. All Vietnam elections will be held by July, 1956. The Viet Minh—who "on the basis of the military realities . . . were justified in demanding something very like French capitaluation" (**Alsops**, 7/16)—had made solid concessions for peace.

Milestones on road to peace

The Indo-China truce makes possible giant strides toward co-existence:

- **CHINA IN THE UN:** Churchill apparently agreed to exchange British agreement to postpone China's UN admission for a more reasonable U.S. attitude on Indo-China. But the truce brings China "very close to meeting Britain's conditions for its admission to the UN" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/13). Churchill faces a Labour Party united in opposition to further postponement. His ability to maintain the decision is questionable. British policy on this issue will probably prove decisive since a determined British stand for China's admission could swing the Commonwelath (except Australia), W. Europe and Scandinavia into line. But only tremendous pressure from below is likely to force such a stand.


600 MIL-LION CHI-NESE NOT REPRESENTED AT UNITED NATIONS
OVERDUE RECOGNITION OF CHINA

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"I still don't see it!"

- **DEVELOPMENT OF E.-W. TRADE:** The truce will make impossible further postponement of the U.S.'s long-promised easing of the trade embargo. W. German and British businessmen are planning trade missions to China this fall. W. German exports to China this year fell by a third owing to the addition of iron and steel to the embargo list late last year. Resentment against the embargo has reached a new pitch. **NYHT** (7/18) reported that W. German industry is "avid for Red China trade" and businessmen

  ". . . are not interested solely in this year's trade or next. They want to get in before it's too late on what they think will be a vast Chinese industrialization program."

SIGNS OF SENSE: Washington's mood was still to fight any moves toward co-existence: the impending truce provoked "a widening conviction that a preventive war may be the only answer" (Marquis Childs, 7/16); top Administration spokesmen like House Speaker Martin openly and bluntly rejected co-existence (**Newsweek**, 7/19, pointed out his views and the President's are not far apart). Yet there were signs that at a grass-roots level a genuine reappraisal of U.S. foreign policy was being attempted, however confusedly. A sprinkling of letters to newspapers on China's admission to UN showed sanity emerging.

That U.S. opinion is far from unanimously behind the bipartisan hate-China policy was underlined by **CSM** (7/12)—which drew this conclusion from the results of a 1953 poll by the American Assn. for the UN. The poll showed 54% favoring U.S. recognition of China; 35% against; 60% opposing, 40% favoring U.S. use of the veto to keep China out of UN.

Having faced the bitter consequences of military defeat in Indo-China, Washington has turned from "the wailing wall . . . to the plotting rooms to develop new and more promising ventures. . . . The next operation is bound to be planned and supported more carefully" (Joseph Harsch, **CSM**, 7/17). It remains up to the people to drag it out of the plotting rooms and bring its war-preparation policy to an end — using the occasion of the truce, and of the gathering momentum it gives to the shift of the balance of power toward the forces of peace.

Socialist progress worries U.S. experts as U.S.S.R. opens atomic power plant

LAST Oct. 23 Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray announced that the U. S. would soon build its first atomic power plant. Chief impetus for this came, he indicated, from fear of "the major blow to our position in the world" should the U. S. S. R. get ahead of the U. S. in peaceful development of atomic power.

On June 27 the world's first atomic power plant began operation in the U. S. S. R. The Soviet Council of Ministers announced that the station—of 5,000 kilowatt capacity (big enough to supply a town of 10,000)—was servicing neighboring industry and agriculture. They said scientists and engineers were already at work on other atomic power stations of 50,000 to 100,000 kw capacity.

Amen

Whatever is wrong in Russia worries American socialists and whatever is right in Russia worries American capitalists.

—**Simplified Economics** (Kansas City, Mo.)

At Shippingport, Pa., the U. S. is beginning construction of its first atomic power plant, scheduled to have a 65,000 kw capacity and be ready for operation in three to five years. Britain's first atomic power station (50,000 kw) will be finished in two to three years.

"IT'S UNECONOMICAL": Early U. S. radio reports about the Soviet plant played it as a significant victory for Soviet science, proof that both the U. S. and Britain had been outstripped in atomic power development. The press then buried the news, after minimizing its significance. So small a plant, said the N. Y. **Times** (7/4), was clearly uneconomical and could really be only a pilot plant similar to test plants already operating here. Earlier, **Business Week** (6/12/54) had flatly stated that none of the different types of reactors proposed as promising heat sources for atomic power plants in the U. S. "has been tested yet on the scale that would prove its economics or reliability of operation as a furnace for a commercial power plant." **BW** also said many businessmen believe the "most popular and profitable" type of plant will be the 5,000 to 15,000 kw capacity size.

A spokesman for the British atomic energy project conceded the Soviet station had apparently been developed "in a very short time, compared with what is usually needed for this sort of project" (**Reuters**, 7/10). The **Christian Science Monitor** (7/3), recalling that the Soviet H-bomb was "described unofficially as superior to anything the U. S. had produced" and that the U. S. has consistently underestimated Soviet atomic progress, said that the present Soviet claim

> ". . . is taken seriously in Washington. . . . The Soviet accomplishment is a blow to the prestige of the U. S., so often proclaimed as the great industrial country in the world, and to Britain which has made an especially strenuous effort to develop atomic power plants. . . ."

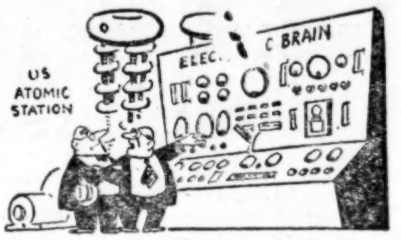
ARE THEY AHEAD? The U. S. attempt to black out the accomplishment followed long-established practice of the West, which has underestimated Soviet capacities in almost every field; but in science and technology some Soviet progress cannot now be concealed. Disclosures about this here usually center on military developments, for obvious reasons. **U. S. News** (5/14), for example, in discussing the new Soviet bombers which are classed with the U. S. B-52, suggested Russia might be

> ". . . ahead of us in engine design. . . . History shows that engine power is the key to air supremacy."

The U. S. **Air Force Magazine,** which often reflects the Air Force's views, said last winter that Russia might be substantially ahead in guided missile development. George Sutton of the N. American Aviation Corp., who has studied rocket progress for 10 years, said (**NYT,** 5/5) that the U. S. S. R. is now testing a liquid propellant rocket engine with five times as much thrust as the German V-2, weighing only as much as two U. S. automobiles. The U. S. S. R. might already be able, he said, to float an artificial satellite off the earth. The Alsop brothers (6/9) referred to "the recent Soviet advances that we cannot match in the field of electronics where we used to think that we had a commanding lead."

PEOPLE WITH BRAINS: "Soviet Research Challenges the World," wrote the **CSM** (5/27), pointing to these and other Soviet scientific developments. A cause of "worry" is the Soviet concentration on education, on developing science and technology. Russia, Natl. Science Foundation director Dr. Alan T. Waterman told Congress last year, would by 1955 be turning out 50,000 engineering graduates compared to 17,000 in the U. S. It is already challenging U. S. superiority in technology by turning out twice as many graduates from Soviet engineering schools as the U. S. does, said Asst. Defense Secy. Donald Quarles (**NYT,** 3/38). Dr. Jan J. Nassau, Astronomy prof. and director of the Warner & Swasey Observatory, recently returned from 16 days in the U. S. S. R. to declare (**NYT,** 6/11):

> "They are training far more engineers and scientists, including physicists and chemists, than we do here. . . . The University of Moscow impressed me very much. . . . What particularly impressed me was the number of graduate students they have. For example, in my own field last year they graduated as many or more in astronomy as in the entire U. S."



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"We haven't got a Security Clearance for this one yet—it has given less than candid answers to some questions it was asked."

EXPLORING THE ATOM

The Kharkov Physico-Technical Institute, which already in 1937 was able to break down the nucleus of lighter elements with a generator producing 5,000,000 volts at 120 kw., is one of the U. S. S. R.'s atomic research laboratories. Prof. Walter (l.) and engineer Lyashenko set up apparatus in the high-voltage department.

A new period in human history

By Prof. J. D. Bernal, F. R. S.

(In an interview for the Guardian)

LONDON

THE word from Moscow that an industrial turbine is working for the first time on atomic energy marks a new period in human history. While this first station will produce only a small amount of energy, a beginning has been made on a process that must transform the world. The U. S. S. R. has achieved the peaceful use of atomic energy in advance of other countries. We can be sure from experience that when the Soviet government says work is in progress on bigger stations, that objective will be achieved very soon. We know too that this achievement will be developed in the interests of the peace-loving countries and made available to them.

PHYSICIST BERNAL

In the early years of the first Five Year Plan, construction of the Dnieper Dam gave the first promise of fulfillment of Lenin's great plan for electrification of the Soviet Union. The Dneiper Dam was a mighty achievement, but it is small compared with the present-day schemes for hydro-electric power development. Soviet atomic energy production will increase in the same ratio; nothing will prevent it from going forward at an ever-increasing tempo.

A STEP TO CO-EXISTENCE: We must recognize that atomic power plays a different role in a capitalist economy. Up to now in the U. S., atomic energy has been a sink through which vast sums of money have been poured away, rather than a new source of wealth: any new method of creating power at once threatens the interests whose profits depend on existing power sources. Recently contracts for power for atomic energy plants were refused to the TVA and given to private contractors.

Many American interests will fear the new situation created by the achievement of atomic power; but they cannot ignore it, because the capitalist countries are no longer in a monopoly position and cannot prevent advances in science from being fully exploited.

We can hope that the logic of the position will force the powers a step nearer peaceful co-existence. Now it is known the U. S. S. R. is leading in this field, the U. S. and Britain will be forced to push forward much more rapidly.

GARDENS IN DESERTS: What prospects does atomic power open for the world? If you have sufficient power at your disposal, you can always produce water, and from water you can always obtain food. The sea can produce limitless supplies of fresh water if the power is available. Given inexhaustible sources of power, water can be taken anywhere. The Danube, for example, could irrigate all Hungary; irrigation projects could be devised for anywhere in the world.. The deserts can be turned into gardens.

With power on this scale in our hands, we can solve every problem of food production—and what is more, the world's population can be maintained wherever it chooses to live. Atomic power means, too, that countries with big agricultural populations can be developed industrially much more easily. No longer will the world's economy centre round the areas producing coal and oil.

THE GREAT "IF": Power means not only food; it means metal and engineering facilities, in fact the material basis for a steadily expanding standard of living for all mankind. But power is only 10% of the requirements for this great advance. The rest is made up by machines and the skill of human hands and brains.

In other words, the new atomic power stations can produce abundance and happiness for all men and all nations if we learn how to use it and how to plan our resources—and above all, if the people are strong enough to compel their governments to end the use of atomic energy for weapons of war and to insist that this great discovery is devoted to peaceful progress.

Guatemala junta cracks down on unions

IN junta-ruled Guatemala the crack-down on democratic trade unions was on, with many of their leaders under arrest. Following Secy. Dulles' quick recognition of the Castillo Armas government (he would have been mean, **The Nation** commented, to "refuse to recognize his own child just because it was a bastard"), Cuban labor leader Raul Valdivia Perez, the CIO's David Benedict and the AFL's Serafin Romualdi arrived in Guatemala City. The latter was the author of a recent attack on Guatemalan trade unions in a report to the AFL.

In the U.S., there were some evidences of hindsight on the part of men familiar with Latin America. Louisville **Times** editor emeritus Tom Wallace deflated (7/12) "Red atrocity" stories spread by the Armas junta by noting that during that period U. S. correspondents who could easily enter and leave Guatemala never mentioned them in their dispatches. After exposing the new government's nature, Wallace concluded that "a principle of democracy has been violated jauntily where half a hemisphere is at stake."

THE SQUELCH: The Greensboro (N. C.) **Daily News** (6/23) reported that Capus L. Waynick, former U. S. Ambassador to Nicaragua and Colombia, expressed "deep concern" about the U. S. position in Guatemala, fearing the U. S. "may be justly charged with supporting the strong-man governments of Latin America, and in squelching the liberal movements, some of which seem to be radical or communistic." Waynick likened Guatemala under the Arbenz government with Mexico in the early days of its revolution, commented that "we can ruin countries by bombs, but we cannot set up democratic governments by strong-arm methods."

Armas dissolved all political parties that supported Arbenz, stepped up arrests from 2,000 to 4,000 in one week (official figure), formally charged Arbenz with murder, and pressed for the recall of the Mexican Ambassador. Mexico declined, said it would seek safe-conduct for all the 300-odd refugees in its Embassy and that common-crime charges made after a person has

(Continued on following page)

Joe must go

(Continued from Page 1)

neglected for so long. He has been paying more attention to his constituents in recent weeks than he has at any time since he has been in the Senate."

In Sauk City restaurant proprietor Roman A. Reuter, a McCarthy booster and candidate for American Legion state commander, formed a Door for Gore Club to drive out of town the Joe Must Go headquarters and, if possible, Gore himself and his family. Gore first learned of this movement while he was returning to Sauk City from Washington: tuning in a Fulton Lewis radio broadcast, he heard Lewis hint that 200 businessmen "armed with clubs" awaited him at the village limits. This surprised Gore because there aren't that many businessmen in Sauk City. He encountered no clubs when he got home, but since then he has received a steady stream—by mail and phone—of anonymous threats of violence to himself, his wife and children.

"LEGAL HASH": The "legal" action began tbout the same time. Sauk County District Atty. Harlan Kelley, a McCarthy backer, announced a John Doe investigation of the Joe Must Go Club for possible violation of the state Corrupt Practices Act. Gore called the move "an attempt to smear me and the entire recall organization with trumped-up legal hash." The **Capital Times** said Kelley "has decided to use his office to carry on a political vendetta" and "for some political persecution to get his name in the headlines."

Kelley lost a couple of early legal moves but by May 21 got his probe started with hearings before Justice of the Peace John L. Terbilcox in Baraboo. One of his first acts was to subpena the recall organization's canceled checks and list of financial contributors: he said he wanted to check the names with a list of persons who signed nominating papers for Communist candidates in the late '30's. Later Gore charged that Kelley flew east to show McCarthy the contributors list, but Kelley denied it.

TRANSFORMATION SCENE: While the "legal" harassment was getting under way, there was the case of Robert Houle in Green Bay. Houle was born and raised in the town, had been a prominent high school athlete, was well-known and respected and considered a rising young man. He had a brilliant four-year war record, was twice wounded and twice decorated as a Navy air gunner in the South Pacific. After the war he went into radio and advertising work, recently set up for himself as a free-lance. He has always been a church-going Catholic. In 1952 he switched to the Republican Party and was a leading Green Bay figure in behalf of Eisenhower's campaign.

One night in early May a meeting was held in Green Bay to set up a local Joe Must Go club. No one wanted to be chairman until Houle volunteered for the post. By 9 o'clock next morning, less than 12 hours later, Green Bay phones were buzzing with the news that Bob Houle was a "communist."

THE DANGER POINT: Sponsors of two TV programs he conducted were swamped with threats of boycott unless they fired Houle. He resigned to save them embarrassment—and lost most of his income. The local newspaper was flooded with anti-Houle letters. Lifetime acquaintances avoided him on the street. He was showered with abuse and threats against himself, his young wife and their three small children. He was repeatedly advised to get out of town, was told he would never get another job in Green Bay. Houle has not left town, but at the beginning he was rather dismayed; he said:

LeROY GORE
"Don't prolong the agony"

> "I have done political work before and I've never had to lose any accounts. I handled Eisenhower's publicity in the last campaign. Had it been anyone else [but McCarthy] I never would have had to give up any job. This thing gets beyond mere politics—this thing where you can't take a stand against him without reprisals. That's not Americanism. I was not summarily dismissed. This is more subtle and evil than that."

The **Capital Times** spelled out the evil:

> "When the appalling things that have happened to Mr. Houle can happen in this country merely because a citizen exercises the rights which have always been among the proudest privileges of Americans, we have reached the danger point. We have said it before and we repeat it now: All the ingredients that were present when Hitler rose to power and crushed the liberties of the German people are present in this country today. Mr. Houle's case reminds us that it is later than we think."

READY FOR ROUND 2: On the eve of the recall deadline of June 5, Gore praised those who had signed petitions:

> "You knew, certainly, that your signature on the McCarthy recall petition would brand you as a Communist, without question, in the eyes of fanatic McCarthy supporters."

He made this pledge in event of failure of the drive:

> "No one will ever see your signature on the recall petition. . . . I'll go to jail before I will produce them. . . . The signatures will be seen by no one, unless we have the full 403,000 signatures to present to the Wisconsin Secy. of State."

A few days later Gore took the petitions out of the state to prevent their being subpenaed. Then he announced that another try at a recall will be made after the November elections; with a smaller vote in an off-year election, it is expected that only little more than half the signatures will be required. Said Gore: "We've got it made."

A FLIGHT OF WARRANTS: Then the legal persecution was stepped up. On June 16 District Atty. Kelley announced he intended to issue "a large number of warrants against a large number of people." Gore was ordered to produce the petitions; he refused and said:

> "I shall cheerfully go to jail if necessary rather than expose a third of a million electors of Wisconsin to personal and political persecution. I have a moral and patriotic responsibility above the puny powers of the Sauk City District Atty. to pervert justice."

Kelley next announced he would issue warrants against corporations which contributed to the recall; against those who "forged" signatures on petitions, committed "perjury" at his John Doe hearings, solicited money under "false pretenses"—and against others for "contempt."

On July 2 Gore had a conference with Gov. Kohler in an effort to have him curb what Gore called a flagrant abuse of power" in the state's "largest mass character-assassination." Pleading lack of authority, Kohler rejected a proposal to set up a special commission to take the matter out of Kelley's hands. Such a commission, he argued, would not have subpena power or the authority to take testimony under oath.

LAWS & LAUGHING STOCKS: On July 9 Kelley filed a 21-count warrant charging that the Joe Must Go Club, having been incorporated, violated the law when it gave funds to other smaller affiliated clubs and to advertising firms for promotional work. It was also in violation, he said, by paying salaries and expenses. Said Gore:

> "Kelley has put the state in the indefensible situation of granting us a charter for a specific purpose, then starting suit against us for exercising the purpose of that charter. If the recall organization can't spend money to promote the recall, then who can spend it for that purpose?"

Meanwhile a move is under way from other sources in Sauk County to cut off funds from Kelley before he "bankrupts the county and makes us the laughing stock of the state."

But it is more than a county and state affair. Having performed a national service in conducting the recall move, Gore and his associates deserve national support now that they are being punished for it.

Guatemala

(Continued from preceding page)

sought asylum were invalid.

THE HARVEST: In Mexico City, the Society of Friends of Guatemala released this statement signed by some 300 prominent persons including ex-Ministers Antonio Martinez Baez and Alfonso Caso; dramatist Rodolpho Usigli; astronomist Guillermo Haro; journalist Fernando Benitez, and the artists Siqueiros and Rivera:

> "The [U.S.] Dept. of State has committed a fundamental error. It is not a 'glorious victory'; on the contrary it is a 'bitter victory.' Confidence, continental solidarity, the peace which has been built with so much effort and sacrifice on this continent; the friendly and sincere collaboration between the U.S. and the Latin American republics which were just beginning to bear fruit . . . all has been destroyed in a few days' time. Now the U.S. will reap the distrust, the fear and hatred of the Latin American peoples, and it has slain forever the good neighbor policy with the arms that won her 'glorious victory.'
>
> "Indignation grows daily against the aggressors on the continent as grows the solidarity with the Guatemalan people. We defend democracy against those who only speak of democracy; we defend liberty against those who only speak of liberty. The martyrdom of Guatemala is not useless. It will serve to teach the people of Latin America where the danger lies; it will serve to strengthen the bonds which must unite all of us into one fatherland—Hispano-America."

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UNITED NATIONS REPORT

World court slaps UN inquisition; ILO refuses to blackball U.S.S.R.

By Kumar Goshal

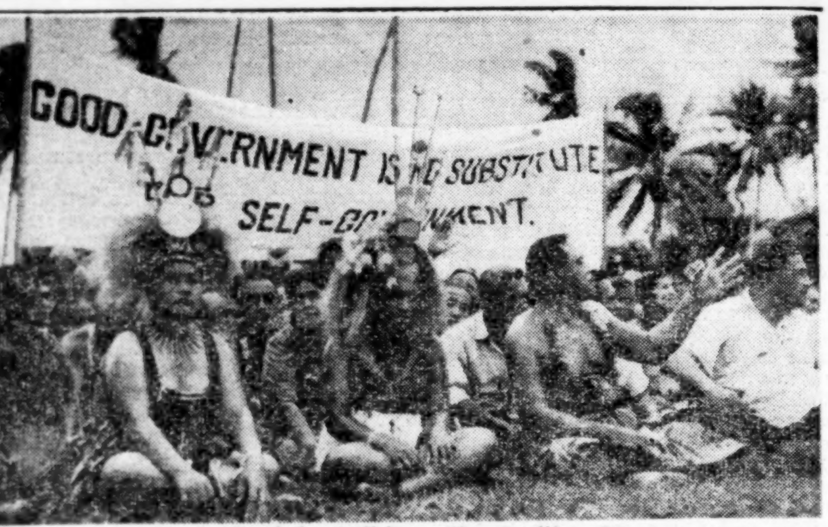
FROM the Intl. Court of Justice at the Hague came this month a sharp rebuke to Washington for extending its witch-hunt into the UN Secretariat. The court's decision concerned 11 Americans who were dropped from UN jobs during 1952-53 for not answering questions about their politics. Last September the UN Administrative Tribunal—the highest internal judicial body—declared the dismissals improper since there was "no proved misconduct," and in effect ordered Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold either to reinstate the 11 or pay them some $180,000 in damages.

Under terrific U.S. pressure the UN General Assembly last year asked the Hague Court to decide if the Assembly could override the Tribunal. On July 13 the court decided 9-3 that the Tribunal's authority was final and advised the Assembly to appropriate the $180,000 damages. Judges representing Britain, Salvador, Norway, Egypt, Canada, Formosa, Uruguay, Poland and the U.S.S.R. voted in favor; those of Chile, Brazil and the U.S. voted against. The court's decision is not binding, but the Assembly in September is expected to abide by it.

AN AMERICAN IN PARIS: Despite strong opposition from most UN members, the U.S. has continued its hunt for "subversives" among American UN employes, climaxing it last month with a two-day grilling of Dr. Ralph Bunche—top-ranking American employed by UN—before declaring him "loyal." For nearly three years it has been hounding David Leff, employed by the UN Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization in Paris. In 1951, the U.S. Embassy confiscated his and his wife's passports without explanation. Early last year Leff and several other UNESCO employes refused to fill out a loyalty questionnaire sent from Washington; their action was sustained by the exec. board. The board again sustained him when he appealed against dismissal by the UNESCO director for failure to honor a New York Grand Jury subpena on the ground that, without a passport, he had no guarantee of return to his post and his family.

Last March Federal Judge Henry Goddard issued a bench warrant for Leff's arrest. A roving U.S. loyalty board—which was denied by Switzerland the right to carry on its witch-hunt among UN personnel in Geneva—is now trying to draw Leff into its net in Paris. The London **Times** (3/19) commented on the Leff case:

> "What is most disturbing is that all this appears to have no relation whatever to the work of UNESCO itself and must be hindering the proper functioning of the secretariat. . . . The UN Charter clearly states that international civil servants owe duty to the UN alone and can receive instructions from no member State. . . . The stand the [UNESCO] staff is taking is courageous and right. Mr. Leff's is a test case of first importance for the status of intl. civil servants."



Everybody's talking about liberty

While Marshall Islanders plead against "test" atomization of their home atolls, this is the way Samoans greeted a UN Trusteeship Council mission. "Some 200 million of the earth's inhabitants," notes UN, "have not yet achieved self-government or independence."

TEST-ATOMIZED HOMES: Two weeks ago the UN Trusteeship Council, in reviewing U.S. reports on its Pacific trust territories, took up a petition from the Marshall Islanders, 236 of whom suffered severe radiation burns after the March 1 H-bomb test. The petition asked "that all these experiments with lethal weapons within this area be immediately ceased" or at least conducted with better precautionary measures and adequate compensation for affected persons.

Facing strong criticism from the U.S.S.R., India and Syria, the U.S. said that Russia also conducts nuclear tests and that the U.S. experiments were for protection of the free world, including India. The U.S.S.R. pointed out that its tests were carried out on its own soil; India's Krishna Menon said his country "can take care of herself." The Council rejected the Soviet proposal to halt the U.S. experiments and the Indian proposal to postpone further tests until the Intl. Court of Justice decided whether the U.S., as trustee for UN over these territories, had any right to endanger the people's lives and destroy their atolls.

Instead, the Council passed a British-French-Belgian resolution expressing confidence that the U.S. will take better precautions in future. (**AP**, 7/9, reported that Japan's Minister of State testified before a parliamentary committee that "the U.S. had refused Japan's request for prior notice of future H-bomb tests at Bikini.") India served notice it would bring up the issue in the UN Assembly in September.

ANOTHER GENEVA FIGHT: At the Intl. Labor Organization conference in Geneva last month, the U.S. put up a bitter fight against admitting with full voting rights employer, worker and government representatives from the Soviet Union and other E. European socialist countries. The ILO is dominated by the U.S. and strongly influenced by the anti-Communist Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions. Nevertheless, the U.S. and its allies

> ". . . failed to convince their labor colleagues from the underdeveloped countries, and even from some advanced countries . . . such as Switzerland and Belgium, on several points. . . . Efforts of non-Communist employers and leaders of the ICFTU to persuade the conference to refuse to recognize their Soviet and satellite counterparts . . . were decisively beaten" (N.Y.**Times**, 6/23).

United States delegates, after threatening to walk out of the ILO, said they would start a move to amend its constitution "to accomplish what they had failed to accomplish by a conference vote" (**NYT**, 6/22).

The China issue is getting hot

TODAY'S chief UN corridor and lounge topic is recognition of the Peking government as the proper one to represent China here. Sen. Knowland's threat to pull the U.S. out of UN if this were done, and Dulles' threat to use the veto and his demand for "moral" qualifications for UN recognition, have raised many eyebrows and temperatures. Until now the U.S. delegation has admittedly considered seating of People's China as an un-vetoable, majority-vote procedural matter for the Security Council and Assembly to decide. Dulles himself wrote in 1950, in his book **War or Peace**:

> "The UN will best serve the cause of peace if it is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely representative of what we like."

India, Indonesia and New Zealand, among others, have already gone on record for recognition of People's China. Recent news from the Philippines indicates a strong pull toward recognition even among U.S.-dominated governments. Philippines Sen. Edmundo Cea, head of the government Industry & Commerce Comm., after studying China trade possibilities in Hong Kong, recommended recognition of and "limited trade" with People's China. The Phillippines Cabinet recently urged acceptance of Soviet invitation for Filipinos to study Soviet agriculture and industry, which President Magsaysay promptly rejected.

Although Churchill opposed UN recognition of Peking now, UN members speculated over Britain's abstention when the Trusteeship Council recently voted on the Formosa representative's credentials. Delegates have been closely watching the bitter debate in the British Parliament, where Bevanites and Attlee followers have united in opposition to Churchill's present China policy. Bevan told a miners' gathering that the Labour Party believes in aiding British economy by reaching an understanding and expanding trade with China and "by bringing them into UN." He said he and Attlee were going to China soon "to sympathize with their aims and to bring them into closer co-operation with the rest of the world." Recognition of People's China promises to be the hottest issue at the Assembly meeting in September.

RELIGION

Can a Christian be a Communist?

AMONG HUNDREDS of questions put to the Rev. William Howard Melish, during more than a week on the stand in the Subversive Activities Control Board's attempt to show that the American-Soviet Friendship Council must register as "Communist-dominated," was: "Do you think a person can be both a Christian and a Communist?" When the acting minister of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church (Episcopalian) replied: "Yes, I suppose he could, given certain conditions . . . [but he] may not be a Communist in terms of Marxist philosophy," he set off a page-one storm in the Brooklyn **Eagle**. The following Sunday, the **Eagle** quoted a recent statement by Melish's bishop, James P. De Wolfe of Long Island, that

> ". . . the first tenet of Communism is atheism, and Christian clergymen who have espoused or identified themselves with Communism have violated their ordination vows. . . . It would appear that Communists run extensive handicaps in trying to infiltrate the ministry of the Episcopal Church as things are at present."

Editorially, the **Eagle** called Melish's statement "startling, incredible" and referred to "the barbaric practices of the Reds, which trample on the humanitarian and moral principles to which all churches are devoted." Three Brooklyn ministers whom it interviewed took a similar position, one of them—Baptist Rev. Gardner C. Taylor—adding that he nevertheless "believed in Mr. Melish's sincerity." A fourth, the Rev. John Howland Lathrop (Unitarian), reminded the **Eagle** that in "various Communist countries such as Czechoslovakia" Protestant churches are "encouraged" although Roman Catholic are not on the ground that "Rome is an outside political power. . . . The fact is that persons in Communist countries are both Christians and Communists even though there is a contradiction there."

"NEITHER FALSE NOR NOVEL": That same Sunday the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, professor of Christian ethics at the Cambridge (Mass.) Episcopal Theological School, was guest preacher at Holy Trinity. He told the congregation:

REV. JOSEPH FLETCHER

The Eagle should think twice

> "Whoever wrote [the **Eagle** editorial] should have taken himself more seriously, for he took pains to say that Mr. Melish was 'endowed with mental skill.' He ought therefore to have thought twice before he tried to cross 'swords' with him.
>
> "The greatest living Protestant theologian in Europe today, Karl Barth, has often replied to the same question in very much the same way. There is no other way for a responsible theologically-trained person to reply. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, said the same thing many times in different ways. . . . It is neither false nor novel, except possibly here in America. . . . The Lambeth Conference at its last meeting, the decennial gathering of the bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, said exactly the same thing that Mr. Melish said. . . . The real issue is Christianity versus atheism, not Christianity versus socialism."

THE DECISIVE QUESTION: Fletcher said that among delegates at next month's World Council of Churches assembly at Evanston, Ill., would probably be Czech theologian Dr. Joseph Hromadka—"like me, a socialist and not a Communist"—and the Hungarian Reformed Church's Bishop Albert Berezcky—"a Communist but of course not a Marxian holding to a naturalistic, materialist interpretation of history." These men, he said, are "loyal to their governments, not subversive, cannot be corrupted into treason by any appeal or espionage from abroad." The decisive question for them and all Christians was

> ". . . who is going to prevail among the socialist forces which are on the march in the world today. Shall those who believe in God prevail, or those who do not?"

The **Eagle** wound up its report of Fletcher's sermon:

> "In 1950 [Fletcher] was acting head of the American Sponsoring Committee of the Red-dominated World Peace Congress in Warsaw."

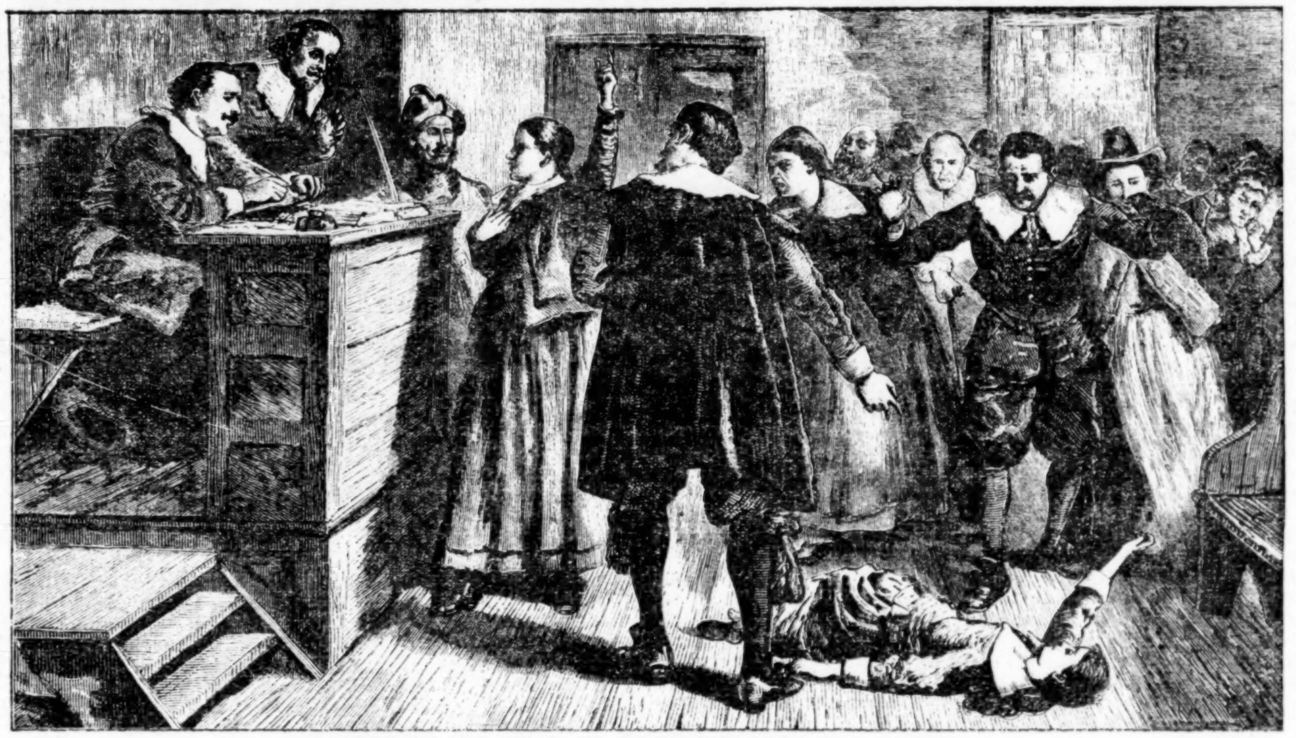
THE 20th CENTURY WITCH-HUNT IN NEW ENGLAND

Nathan Hale descendant stands up for 'liberty & justice for all'

A QUIETLY determined fight against the revival in Massachusetts schools of the ancient commonwealth sport of witch-hunting is being waged by Anne Hale Jr., 46, a descendant of Nathan Hale, John and Priscilla Alden and Myles Standish. A second-grade teacher at Center School, Wayland, Mass., Miss Hale was suspended in May after two hearings: a closed one before the school committee in which she said she was a Communist Party member from 1938 to 1950, and a public one where she said that "on further consideration" she saw a duty to uphold state and federal constitutions by declining to answer questions on her beliefs.

Broomsticks in New England

- In its last day of session the Massachusetts legislature continued the life of the state's Special Commission to Study and Investigate Communism, told it to bring in a report listing all "Communists and subversives" in the state. Commenting on this, the Worcester **Telegram** charged "headline-seeking legislators" with "abolishing trial by jury" by discarding any need of proof. (Since 1951, current CP membership is a felony in Massachusetts.) The paper ridiculed the statement of an "alleged FBI counter-spy" to one county DA that there are 15,000 CP members in the state, pointing out that by such a ratio there would be 1,200,000 Communists in the U. S. whereas J. Edgar Hoover says there are 25,000.
- Paul M. Sweezy, leading Marxist economist and co-editor of the **Monthly Review**, was sentenced to jail June 30 by Superior Court Justice R. F. Griffith at Merrimac, N. H.; he was released on $1,000 bail pending appeal to the N. H. Supreme Court. Summoned last October to answer questions by the state Atty. General on "subversive activities" and "subversive persons," Sweezy had stated he was a Marxist but not a Communist, but challenged under the First Amendment the right of official probers to ask questions about the Progressive Party. Details in **Monthly Review.**
- After stormy protests, a "trial of books" which was set for July 14 in Boston was deferred until Dec. 31. Dist. Atty. Byrne is seeking to have "burned or otherwise destroyed" several thousand books confiscated from the home of Otis A. Hood, self-proclaimed Communist.



A WITCHCRAFT TRIAL AT SALEM VILLAGE (from an old print)

On July 7 the school committee voted 2-1 to dismiss her. Committee chairman William Waldron dissented and stepped down from his post after the decision. He said Miss Hale's refusal to answer at the public hearing would have been cause for dismissal, but that the charges made—of lying to the committee and "unfitness to teach"—were not proved.

"UNDERSTOOD THE YOUTH": Miss Hale was the second Greater Boston teacher fired during July for past CP membership; both she and the first victim, Charles Chase of Quincy junior high, were outstandingly popular in school. Chase's students immediately protested in a letter to the Quincy **Patriot-Ledger** expressing "utmost faith" in him; parents wrote: "All the children were crazy about him," "He was really wonderful . . . he stressed American principles in the classroom." The **Italian News** in Boston editorialized: "[He] understood the youth of the district and got along fine with them. . . . Our people felt that his politics were his own business."

Quincy's School Committee upheld Chase's suspension by a 4-3 vote; he could have kept his job, as the **Patriot-Ledger** said in a critical editorial, if he

> ". . . had only scribbled on a piece of paper: 'I hereby repudiate the general principles of communism.' . . . The majority of us consider that idea wrong, but we admit a person's right to hold such an opinion. . . . It does not mean that the person is vicious or subversive."

Letters from **Patriot** readers reflected community indignation at what the paper called the School Committee's "Unsatisfactory Decision." On July 1 the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that a third suspended teacher, Boston Latin School's George Faxon, had a right to use the Fifth Amendment before the Jenner Committee in 1953 (for which he was suspended) but that he was no longer entitled to a job.

HER SUCCESS STORY: In her statement to the school committee, Miss Hale said that although she belonged for 12 years to the CP she had never committed nor advocated "unlawful acts of any kind" nor "known anyone else to commit or advocate these acts; if I had I should have reported it to the authorities." She said she had

> ". . . done my best in and out of school to make my children better citizens. . . . The two colonial ancestors of whom I am proud are Anne Hutchinson, banished from the colony for asserting the individual's right to proclaim the 'inner word' as heard by him or her, rather than simply obeying the voice of tradition and the established leaders, and William Stevous of Salem and Gloucester, who went to jail for refusing to acknowledge 'Charles Stuart' as King after the Restoration.
>
> "My father, who was a delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention held about 1910, gave his definition of a successful person as one who had helped the broadest group of people to the utmost of his ability. This has been my goal for success in life ever since."

"DIFFERENT IDEAS": Miss Hale, who said her present progressive activities consist of "subscribing to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and attending meetings on peace and free speech," sent copies of her statement to parents of all second-graders asking them to read it to their children; to the children she wrote:

> "Your family will tell you that different people have different ideas about how the country should be run. I have been working . . . to make sure that the 'liberty and justice for all' of which we speak every morning is always with us, and that it will grow better. Those who don't agree with me say harsh things. Just remember these things which I am sure you know—I love my country and I love you."

After her dismissal she said that because of the principles involved she "hoped to find enough support among those who believe in liberty to enable me to carry this matter further." She said she was now cleaning homes in Wayland to get money to live on.

SANTA MARIA
GO BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM

New Hampshire is fearlessly exposing fourth-graders' plot to dislike teacher

Guardian special correspondent

MANCHESTER, N. H.

A NEW specter is haunting New Hampshire. It is the "CSA," described by a Manchester **Su[illegible]y News** editorialist as a Communist mystery organization pledging kids to dislike teachers. The writer does not know what the letters stand for but points out: "The Communists are notorious for their employment of alphabetical condensations, i.e., 'CPUSA' which stands for 'Communist Party, U. S. A.'" In any event, the writer asks: "What little schoolchild, 12 or 14 years old, would dream up a designation like 'CSA' for a 'cops and robbers' game?"

The scare began when a Franklin, N. H., mother discovered

> ". . . that her 10-year-old daughter had, in all childish innocence, been induced to sign a written pledge binding her to the Communist Party! . . . She only remembers being told, in apparent earnestness, that the Communists were on the verge of 'taking over' this country and that by joining up she insured special favors for herself."

Then, the **News** reported:

> "The Atty. General's office turned up another written pledge form—NOT the one signed by the 10-year-old—which committed signers to support the 'CSA'. It stated the 'CSA' oath: "I will not be an FBI . . . I will not like teachers . . . name . . . rank . . . leader . . . room.'"

COMMIES & KIDDIES: The **News** went on to remind readers that "Commies greatly delight to get their hands on the kiddies. . . . Wherever they can, they start indoctrinating them at the nursery level. Encouraging them at a somewhat later age to 'dislike teacher' would be the natural way of enlisting children's sympathies."

One State prober wondered "why we should investigate fourth and seventh graders when we have plenty of more important investigative work to do." The **News** chided him: "Of course nothing could be more important than combating any possible effort by Communists to corrupt our 'fourth and seventh graders.'" If the **News** has its way, conspiracies to advocate disliking teacher in New Hampshire classrooms will be fearlessly exposed.

Out of the mouths of babes . . .

Toward the end [of a town meeting on UN at Wolfeboro, N. H., attended by several UN delegates] Kendrick Putnam, a 15-year-old boy from Lyme, suggested a "whatchmucallit"—a resolution—calling for the reconsideration of all countries that had been denied United Nations membership. After some talk from the delegates Senator Styles H. Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, strode to the mike.

Pointing to Kendrick, he demanded whether the boy was "endorsing" Communist China. Kendrick stood up, said he was not endorsing anybody, just talking about reconsideration of everybody.

"Does that include Communist China?" the Senator demanded.

"Certainly does," Kendrick said.

Mr. Bridges said he was shocked, and that all Americans should vote down such a resolution—which the meeting did. At that point G. A. Whittemore of Lincoln jumped up, said that, merits aside, Kendrick should be congratulated for getting up and speaking his piece and that was what town meetings were for.

Kendrick looked up at the loud applause. Later he said he had not been talking or thinking about Communist China, just about all countries. —N. Y. **Times**

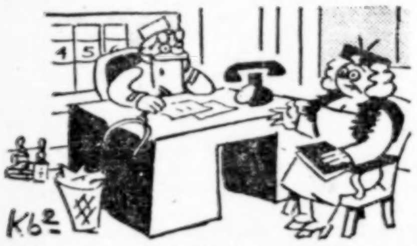
Police-state blueprint still taking shape; pressure against Brownell bills not enough

TIME was running out last week for U.S. democracy and freedom. In the heat and haste of its last days, the 83d Congress, under constant clubbing from the Administration, seemed clearly disposed to grant most of Atty. Gen. Brownell's demands for legislation to "liquidate" trade unions, establish a vast political blacklist in all industry, curb traditional rights and liberties in many other areas. As Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) put it:

> "In this dissolute time, anybody could get a hearing on a provision to repeal the Ten Commandments if he hooked it up with anti-communism."

SENATE IS UNCONCERNED: Although combined AFL-CIO pressure, plus growing protests from many other sources, prevailed upon the House Judiciary Committee to block the union liquidation and blacklisting bills by recommending instead a commission to study the matter, the pressure wasn't working in the Senate. The Brownell bill to destroy "Communist-infiltrated" unions was scheduled for immediate Senate debate; if it passes there, the House Judiciary Committee's action can be by-passed because Rep. Harold Velde has an identical version before his Un-American Activities Committee and can report it out at any time.

On July 19 the Senate Judiciary Committee reported out the blacklist bill, which would bar from most industry any person the Atty. General deemed likely in the future to commit a "subversive" act. Senate passage of this measure could also nullify the House Committee's effort to block action in this session: if its plan for a study commission is adopted by the House, the matter would go to conference with the danger that a deal would be made to give the Administration what it wants.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"If coffee gives you palpitations, stop drinking it." "It's not when I drink it—it's when I buy it!"

STEP BY STEP: Other parts of the Brownell program of repression were getting quick and easy passage once they got to the floor of either house. On July 14 the House of Representatives without opposition passed a bill providing a savage $5,000 fine and five years' prison for "harboring" any fugitive convicted of a felony; the present law provides a six-month sentence.

On July 19 the House adopted an amendment to the McCarran Act of 1950 requiring all organizations ordered to register as "subversive" to list with the Atty. General all its printing machinery, including mimeograph machines. Passed by the Senate without debate on June 1, the measure now goes to the White House.

On July 19 the Senate Judiciary Committee approved a measure, already adopted by the House, providing the death penalty for peace-time espionage and enlarging the espionage and sabotage laws to create a vast dragnet.

On July 15 the House Judiciary Committee approved a bill recommended by the President himself to deprive of citizenship any person convicted under the Smith Act.

LANGER FIGHTS, IKE PUSHES: Although Brownell seemed to be getting most of what he wants, Chairman Langer of the Senate Judiciary Committee was putting up tough opposition to his demands for legalization of wire-tapping and power to grant "immunity" to witnesses in order to destroy Fifth Amendment protection. Action on these was postponed for at least two weeks. There was indefinite postponement on a measure to make conviction for perjury easier.

SEN. WILLIAM LANGER
A dim view of wire-taps

Administration pressure for the Brownell "package" was relentless. On July 16 Defense Secy. Charles E. Wilson and his general counsel pressed for the union "liquidation" and blacklist bills in an appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee. Earlier Brownell told a TV audience Eisenhower favored all his bills on the advice of the Natl. Security Council and insisted they "must be passed at this session." He reported that William F. Tompkins has been sworn in as an asst. atty. general in charge of the Justice Dept.'s new Internal Security Division to enforce the laws he expects to get.

A VOICE FROM WALL ST. The **Wall St. Journal** continued its consistent opposition to most of the Brownell bills. On July 21 it wrote:

> "Many of them are questionable, and some of them endanger the rights, privileges and immunities not of Communists alone, but of the 160 million of the rest of us."

It specifically challenged the wire-tap bill ("it is a bad law") and the bill to grant immunity to witnesses ("it does damage to the Fifth Amendment"). It added:

> "We have expressed heretofore in these columns our opposition to Mr. Brownell's bill which would empower a government agency . . . to close down a union or a business on 'the extent to which' it is determined such an organization may be Communist-infiltrated. A philosophy of 'extent to which' is a dangerous one; it punishes not for what has been done but because a person or a business or a union may be in position to do a thing."

There is still time to write, wire, phone or visit your Congressman.

Are we men or are we oysters?

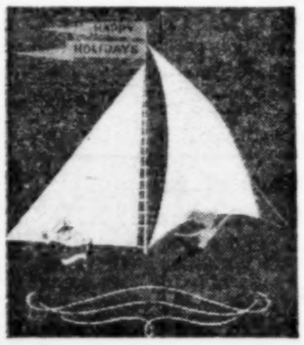
"Survival and progress depend on the maintenance of variation. Yet in this country we are in the midst of a widespread and bitter attack on social variation. Every day men and women are being browbeaten, ostracized, deprived of their jobs and their freedom because they differ from some established norm . . . even for having been acquainted with anyone so suspected.

"Stagnation occurs when variation is penalized—as with the oyster and the ameba and all other creatures that have been sitting around, presumably content with their lot, without progressing for millions of years.

"We are the scorned eggheads—and that concerns you as graduates because this ceremony admits you to our ranks. Welcome to you eggheads. . . . Get out there and be controversial."

—From address to 1954 graduating class of Univ. of New Mexico by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Geology-Paleontology Dept. chairman, N. Y. Museum of Natural History.

Xmas in July?



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NEW YORK Disillusion with Donovan aids Marc

When the 18th CD had a Congressman it could see
Marc was always the Good Neighbor to his constituents; Donovan the invisible man.

By Elmer Bendiner

IN Vito Marcantonio's mail after the announcement that he would run for Congress as an independent from N.Y.'s 18th CD was a "confession." It came from a Puerto Rican voter in the district and said:

"I have a confession to make. After voting for you for three consecutive times I went crazy (I believe) and voted for that do-nothing Mr. Donovan [incumbent James C. Donovan endorsed by Republican and Democratic machines]. The more I read about him the more I hate myself for giving him my vote. . . .

"As you know there are quite a few thousand Puerto Ricans in this city that were led to believe that a vote for you was a vote for the Communist Party. I include myself in that group. But what we forgot was that you are the only person to whom we can go in any kind of trouble.

"I also forgot that for you there are no race, creed or color. That shows you how ignorant we can sometimes be. I was one who voted for Donovan out of pure curiosity. I don't know the man and after what I've seen I don't want to know the guy. I know you and your record."

THE NEW ELEMENT: Disillusion with Donovan is the key to politics in the 18th. On the upper levels the gang-up against Marcantonio is the same as in 1950 with only the Liberal Party defecting. (It commands about 5,000 votes.) Another sign of weakness in the gang-up is the threatened primary fight for Caspar H. Citron. At the election district level, the four years have wrought changes. The new element is Donovan's record in Washington and in the 18th.

Four years ago the Democratic district captains were part of the gang-up. This year key captains are reported lukewarm or openly rebellious. Jobholders have been reportedly called in and threatened with loss of their jobs unless they campaigned for Donovan.

MAN WHO WASN'T THERE: The captains' reluctance reflects the shifting sentiments below. Donovan's activities in Congress (he has a consistently reactionary record) might pass unnoticed by voters who don't check the record; but his failure to give the district service at the club level may prove fatal. His record in Congress is matched by an absentee record at Yorkville headquarters. A lawyer is on hand for help in some cases—working for fees.

In and out of office Marcantonio has been a source of help—even for Donovan voters. Donovan campaigners have indicated they will seek to repeat their success with the same "communist" charges against Marcantonio. While the red scare is still strong in the 18th as elsewhere in the country, it loses vigor when used by a man with Donovan's record of neglect and when its target is a man whose political life is built on service to his constituents.

THE OLD SPIRIT: For the country at large and for the people in the 18th the Marcantonio campaign will be the best hope of raising a voice for peace and civil rights in Congress. For the 18th it will also mean a chance to restore a vital public service.

VOTE FOR
MARC

Last week a new Vito Marcantonio Political Assn.—the third in the district—opened at 111 Madison Av. A crowd of 500 jammed the headquarters one flight up, overflowed down the stairway and into the street. Manuel Medina chaired the meeting and Andronicus Jacobs, Negro longshore leader and the American Labor Party's candidate for Manhattan Borough President last year, joined Marcantonio on the platform.

THE OLD BITE: Street meetings were scheduled elsewhere in the district for this week. Marcantonio has always campaigned the hard way—on the street-corner as well as by TV and press conferences. His press statements, though, have the bite of a street-corner rally. For example when the "Affiliated Young Democrats of the 18th CD" last week came out for Donovan, Marcantonio said:

"There is no such organization in existence in the 18th CD. . . . And its so-called state president, Harold R. Moskovit, is certainly not young. This old stumblebum Moskovit has been playing a shell game with a phony and very often non-existing organization for the purpose of trying to impress politicians."

Nine pounds five ounces of hope
That's what all of Mrs. Hazel Grant's children weighed in at, when her triplets arrived last week in Bronx Hospital; the youngest, a girl, weighed 2 lbs. 6 ozs. Incubators were bucking the 9,600-to-1 odds doctors laid against all three surviving.

N. Y. POLITICS

Dems seek trends with straw poll

DEMOCRATIC leaders were preparing to poll some 150,000 N. Y. Democrats (about 5% of the party's enrollment) on a candidate for Governor. Though the straw poll would decide nothing, like a merchandising survey it would test the sales appeal of certain names and measure the popular moods in each county.

The straw ballot will list 10 names. The vote for each will tell more than his springtime popularity which often differs greatly from his November standing. A straw landslide for Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., for example, would indicate to strategists that this year it would be smart politics to stir New Deal memories.

STRAWS IN THE WIND: A strong vote for James A. Farley would indicate the machine was working smoothly, that a hack might ride in, that unblushing reaction could still make gains. No one has yet taken Judge Harold R. Medina seriously as governorship timber—but a sizeable vote for the judge who built his reputation solely on convicting Communists would measure the red scare's effectiveness as a campaign stunt.

Similarly Binghamton's Mayor Donald W. Kramer is listed not because he is considered seriously but because he can register upstaters' responses to local people, local issues. Others on the list are Averell Harriman, Mayor Wagner, Supreme Ct. Justice Robert Jackson, Judges Robert Froessel and Charles S. Desmond—both of the State Court of Appeals—and Thomas H. Finletter, ex-Secy. of the Air Force.

Each is there to spot a trend. The poll's results may not only shape the slate but determine whether the Democratic Party will this year wear an Eisenhower jacket or a Roosevelt mantle.

VIGOR & VAGUER: The only personal popularity contest in the poll will be among Roosevelt Jr., Wagner and Harriman, each prepared to trade on a New Deal association. Of the three, Roosevelt Jr. is clearly

(Continued on Page 10)

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N.Y. politics

(Continued from Page 9)

in the lead, campaigning hard.

On Republican corruption he stumps with vigor; on foreign policy he is vaguer—as if waiting to catch some sign, from above or below, of an issue on which to peg his campaign. At Colgate University's annual Foreign Policy Conference July 12, he criticized Eisenhower's foreign policy of "massive retaliation" but also said the President stands in the way of an "adequate military establishment" and has not systematically encouraged subversion in socialist countries. He did not favor war against Socialist states, but co-existence was "no worthy goal." The Roosevelt Jr. formula: defeat communism by a better life "for men who are free" and by a campaign of subversion within socialist countries.

TOO MASSIVE: Clearly willing to fit the tune to his listeners, Roosevelt Jr. heard little from labor to make him change it. At the AFL's state convention last week pres. George Meany criticized Eisenhower for backsliding on his "massive retaliation" policy, deplored the prospect of peace in Asia as "massive appeasement," rejected "co-existence with gangsters." (Meany also denounced the Administration's rosy estimate of the economic situation and voiced labor's fears of growing unemployment.)

The other possible candidates were quiet. Harriman waited in the wings for Roosevelt Jr. to shoot his bolt. Wagner demurely said that as yet he felt no draft. In the Governor's mansion, Thomas E. Dewey had told friends he had "no intention" of running again. The Washington **Post**'s Edward T. Folliard commented: "This was almost like saying he was not going to run—but not quite."

Dewey was reportedly shopping for a future. On the one hand a N.Y. law firm was reported offering him $100,000 a year. On the other hand a Cabinet post might be had, but Folliard belittled that possibility: "He [Dewey] has heard that some of his friends in the Cabinet are finding it expensive to live in Washington—that they are spending well beyond their official salaries—and this is something Dewey feels he cannot afford to do."

JUDGE HAROLD MEDINA
Timber but no redwood

ARCHIBALD DUMPED: On lower levels of slate-picking, Tammany Hall moved to dump the only Negro in the State Senate. In 1952 Julius A. Archibald's election shattered the lily-white tradition in the Senate by defeating the incumbent Harold I. Panken for the nomination. This year Sen. Archibald was the only incumbent not chosen for renomination. Tammany picked Panken.

Anti-machine elements, independents and those who originally backed Archibald as standard-bearer of Negro political representation were reportedly mobilizing in the 21st SD for another primary fight to maintain the gain won two years ago.

CHISHOLM, ANFUSO NAMED: In Brooklyn the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League, which grew out of the movement for Negro representation that last year swept Judge Lewis Flagg Jr. into office, named Negro attorney William Chisholm as its candidate in the Democratic primary for State Senator from the 11th SD. Party leaders have not yet picked the official nominee to run against Chisholm.

In Brooklyn's 8th CD party leaders, bowing to pressure from liberals and from strong Italian-American groups, nominated Judge Victor L. Anfuso for Congress. Anfuso has spoken out for banning atomic weapons, talking peace with the U. S. S. R. and amending the Walter-McCarran Act. He will be opposed in the primaries by Joseph Marcelle, former Internal Revenue Commr.

ALP SEEKS "HURL-BACK": The American Labor Party launched a many-sided campaign early this month, circulating nominating petitions throughout the state, organizing post-card campaigns: to the President urging him to act against McCarthy and for peace in Indo-China; to Sen. Lehman applauding his stand against McCarthy and seeking to stiffen it.

The ALP was seeking to join local campaigns "which would help stop the Eisenhower Administration's war program and hurl back the Big Business offensive on the people's standard of living." Acting exec. secy. Morris Goldin said in launching the petition campaign: "Especially are we eager to join with all forces and all candidates who are willing to agree on minimum principled programs to end the threat of a depression and interventionist horrors abroad."

An ALP nominating convention set for September will pick a slate. Officials are still casting about for progressive timber.

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WESTCHESTER GHETTO

Realtors fight housing project; would keep Negroes in slums

By Ione Kramer

JUST east of White Plains in Westchester County—often described as N.Y.'s most exclusive suburb, and one of the most expensive real estate counties in the U. S.—lies the town of Greenburgh, which contains street after street of crowded tumble-down firetraps. Most of these are occupied by Negro families, many employed in the county's more fashionable homes. N. Y. State and the Greenburgh Housing Authority want to replace the slums with a $2,200,000 project to include 140 low-rent apartments and a number of single houses built privately on land cleared by the state for sale without discrimination. Westchester realtors, backed by groups of home owners, in a jimcrow campaign are out to defeat the project.

"They don't want to make it attractive for Negroes up here," Westchester NAACP chairman Grant Reynolds told the GUARDIAN: "This small group doesn't want Negroes here and fear they will move in if decent housing is provided. The only type of Negro wanted is the domestic servant who will 'live in' or stay in the slums."

PILGRIMS & SKINS: Almost all of the people who moved to Westchester did so to better themselves, Reynolds said. "The Pilgrims and refugees from the potato famine didn't come to America for a vacation. But these very same Americans want to deny the right of other people to better themselves—because of their color."

Opponents of the project, which include the Orchard Hill, Hillside and Woodhill Homeowners Assns. backed by the realtors, give as their reasons that it would cost Greenburgh too much, the school would be more crowded and the "proportion" of students changed (the public school is now 60% white, 40% Negro). Housing Authority chairman Davis M. Zimmerman says the town would continue to collect taxes and it will "not

(Continued on Page 11)

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Angels to return to White Lake

WE promised ourselves a repeat performance after the huge success of our Guardian Week-end last month at White Lake, so here we go again. The dates are Aug. 27-28-29, the week-end before Labor Day. (We have nothing against Labor Day, in fact we're all for it, but we decided to have ours early and avoid the rush.)

Editor Cedric Belfrage will be in personal command of our contingent. We'll leave New York Friday evening, reach there in time for supper and a cool night's rest; then two days with White Lake's fine food, fun and sports facilities. Lionel Stander, Tony Kraber and the rest of the engaging White Lake staff will be on hand. There's tennis, swimming, boating, hiking. Return will be Sunday evening at about six.

So hurry, hurry, hurry with your reservation. The number of guests we can bring is limited; first come, first served. Write or call Miss Peck, GUARDIAN Week-end, 17 Murray St., New York 7. Tel. WO 4-3960.

Westchester slum

(Continued from Page 10)

cost the town a cent." The low-rent houses will be built on vacant land, so that residents of the slum area can move right into them without being relocated.

SILK STOCKINGS: By tightening housing codes, the opponents hope to condemn the firetraps and drive nearly half of the present Negro residents out of the community before new housing can be built. Reynolds charged that a "conspiracy" existed among real estate, building and lending institutions to keep Negroes from buying into white areas. He called the opposition "the silk-stocking commuter crowd."

"THAT'S McCARTHYISM": The project's backers, in addition to the NAACP, include the Urban League, Businessmen of Tarrytown Road, Parkway Gardens and Secor Woods Assns., the Greenburgh Democratic Party, and several local pastors. After it announced its stand for the project, the respected Hartsdale League of Women Voters received threatening letters and insulting phone calls.

At a 5-hour meeting of the Greenburgh Town Board at Hartsdale Central Av. School, July 15, 620 persons, one-third Negro, brought the fight to a climax. Anti-project spokesmen were met by charges of "prejudice" and "McCarthyism." Reynolds later called these people "dupes of McCarthyism." He said: "When you call people Communists when they want to remove slums—that is McCarthyism."

OUT OF TOWN: In the early morning hours the Town Board voted 3-2 against rezoning the area, thus ruling the project out. But after the vote Town Councilman Patsy Massaro said that in the 2 a.m. confusion he had misunderstood the question, was really for the project and wanted to switch his vote which would have decided the matter in favor of the project.

Last week Massaro was trying to get the Council reconvened so he could correct his vote, but the rest of the members were reported out of town. The next regular meeting was set for August 26. Meanwhile there was the danger that property owners through a petition would amend the rules so that a 4-1 vote would be needed for the project.

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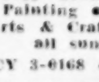

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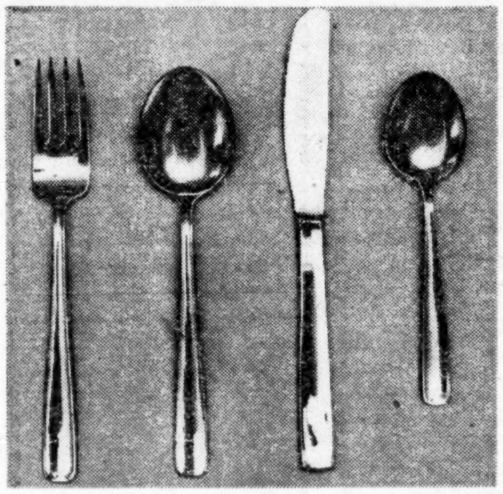

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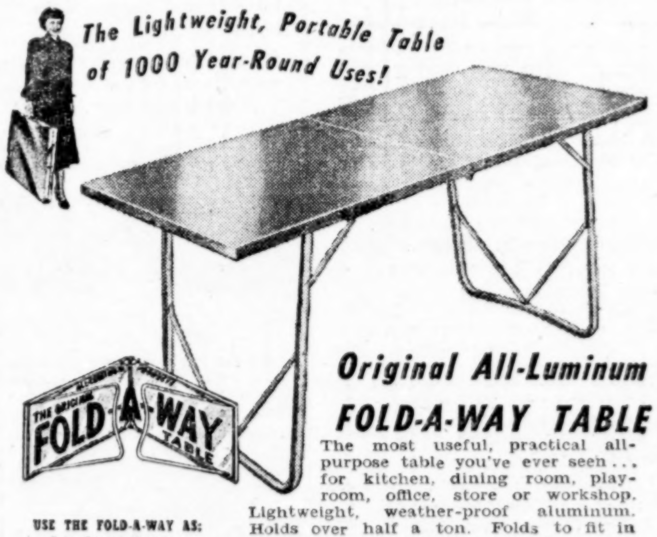
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the SPECTATOR

'The chessboard is the world . . .'

—Thomas Huxley

FOR those whose interests lie in keeping the anti-Soviet pot on the bubble, the most chilling development of the moment is the so-called "cultural offensive" with which the U. S. S. R. and others of the socialist world are invading Western shores. Ballerinas and tenor robustos are beguiling the West's elite; Volga boatmen have out-sculled Britain's best on the Thames; and to date Soviet players have mopped the floors of some of our plushiest chess divans with the West's top experts in the worlds' oldest long-hair game.

The chaps running our anti-Soviet campaigns have every reason to be upset by these developments. Respect for Soviet artistry and prowess is growing apace, and with dangerously large segments of our population.

10,000,000 BURRS: The recent U. S.-U. S. S. R. chess match in New York is the most far-reaching case in point. This was bungled badly by our chaps a year ago, when they set up restrictions which the Soviet players refused to swallow and instead called off the scheduled match. So much clamor for it developed that the match was re-scheduled for this past June. The result—after four sessions of play, to standing room only, in the Hotel Roosevelt—was 20-12 in favor of the Soviet team. This was a better-than-expected result; the Soviet lads had whacked the British and Argentines much harder, and later went on to more thumping results over Canadian and Swedish players.

MIKHAIL BOTVINNIK AND SAMUEL RESHEVSKY
In Moscow, May, 1948

What makes the Soviet chess victory a real burr under the saddles of the anti-Soviet, anti-chess, anti-everything crowd is that there are, believe it or not, some 10,000,000 Americans who at least "know the moves" on a chessboard—and it is a safe bet that at least half of them followed the Hotel Roosevelt matches like hawks. There is chess interest—kept alive by gaffers young and old—in every community in the U. S. From the days of the late Alekhine (a Czarist Russian), U. S. chess players have looked for the best chess from Russia. World champion Mikhail Botvinnik, who has withstood two challenges in the last two years, is known to U. S. chessists as "Botvinnik the Invincible."

VILLAGE PLAY-OVERS: The N. Y. matches produced, as by-products, (1) a new and wider-eyed respect for Soviet chess prowess; (2) a much-stimulated interest in chess as a game. After all, town and village experts everywhere now have, as a result of the U. S.-U. S. S. R. match, a whole batch of new, exciting and well-annotated contests to play over—which they do much more exhaustively than baseball fans do yesterday's big game.

As for the U. S. team, they gave an excellent account of themselves. Two of our youngest players, Donald Byrne and Larry Evans, both college-age grandmasters, won their matches—from Yuri Auerbach and Mark Taimonov respectively. At the first board, Samuel Reshevsky drew even with the top visitor, Vassily Smyslov, in each of four games, for two points apiece.

THE PEOPLE FIND OUT: The U. S. master from whom most was expected (he drew twice, lost twice against Geller) was I. A. Horowitz, editor of **Chess Review** and the bellwether of American chess. America's most peripatetic chess lecturer, exhibition-giver and nemesis of champions, Horowitz is also the most quoted humorist in the game. Most chess-players know his rules of thumb: "Always check, it might be mate!" and "Always sacrifice the other fellow's pieces." Veteran of every international team competition of recent years, he was once matched against the Yugoslav star, Trifunovich.

"Now," said Horowitz, "we shall find out witz is vich!"

More to the point, what people are finding out from these exchanges is that nations that can get together for chess, dancing, athletics or singfests might do pretty well together in business, science and even diplomacy—if only we could keep the Dulles Brothers & Co. out of the act.